

## CHAPTER V: RETURN TO PEACE, 1866-1878

### A. Garrison Life

With the coming of peace, the wartime volunteers swiftly returned to civilian life. At the Presidio the arrival and departure of Regular Army units caused considerable turmoil in late 1865 and early 1866. The 9th Infantry companies arrived from various outposts, reassembled into a regiment, and departed again. Following it the 14th Infantry Regiment and the 1st Cavalry Regiment came and went in turn. Not until April 1866 did the Presidio's postwar regular garrison settle down – two batteries of the 2d Artillery Regiment. This regiment comprised the Presidio's garrison from 1866 to 1872, as well as manning the separate garrison at Fort Point until 1868.<sup>1</sup>

The realization that the pre-war system of defending harbors had become obsolete caused the Army to plan new ways to incorporate the lessons learned, provide new coastal barbette batteries to replace casemated forts, and to emplace heavier artillery such as 15-inch and 20-inch Rodman guns in the defenses. At San Francisco the several installations – the Presidio, Alcatraz, Lime Point, Point San Jose, and Angel Island – remained primarily artillery posts, whereas inland posts throughout the West served mainly as infantry and cavalry commands as the frontier advanced ever farther, thus increasing conflict with Indian tribes. But the artillerymen on the bay were not immune to this warfare. Time and time again they received orders to fight in the mountains and on the plains. They learned and executed infantry and cavalry tactics as well as the management of coastal defenses. Meanwhile, the Presidio's garrison carried out its duties and routines according to custom and regulation.

The 2d Artillery's principal responsibilities during these years lay in the manning and maintenance of the seventy-six mounted and the more than eighty unmounted heavy weapons at Fort Point, along with the ammunition and other ordnance material. In addition, the artillerymen practiced with and cared for their weapons at the main post: six 24-pounder guns, six 3-inch rifled (Parrott?) guns, and two .45 caliber Gatling guns. The records for these years gave only a glimpse of the daily tasks. The post commander reported in January 1872 that his men had lacquered 400 shot of various caliber as well as one 24-

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1. Post Returns, PSF, 1865-1872. The 2d Artillery Regiment, like the prewar 3d Artillery, first organized under a congressional act in 1812. Reorganized in 1821 it remained as such until it merged into the Artillery Corps in 1901. Heitman, *Historical Register*, pp. 52 and 56.

pounder siege gun, painted the carriage and limber of a 24-pounder, and, in addition, cleaned and oiled two 12-pounder brass howitzers twice a week. Gun drills occupied some of the soldiers' time. An order in 1870 directed that each company spend an hour each week drilling on Fort Point's heavy guns.<sup>2</sup>

Although the fort at Fort Point no longer had a garrison, a daily gun detachment arrived from the Presidio to drill on the guns. These soldiers were warned not to salute any vessels, the fort now being but an outpost of the Presidio. They were, however, to report all ships larger than schooners, inbound and outbound. Other instructions included allowing the light keeper and his assistant free access to the fort, and permitting "respectable" citizens to visit the interior of the fort when they were accompanied by a noncommissioned officer. Also, a daily guard manned three posts: at the sally port, the water battery, and on the parapet. A newspaper reported:

Every Monday, Wednesday and Friday, visitors have an opportunity of witnessing ball and shell practice from the fort. The targets are located on Lime Point, opposite. . . .

At the same time, the Second U.S. Light Artillery may be seen practicing on the open grounds this side of the Presidio. The batteries are provided with magnificent horses, and as the companies gallop back and forth over the ground at full speed, go through all the various maneuvers, and discharge their brightly polished arms in rapid succession, the spectacle is one of the finest which can be imagined.<sup>3</sup>

The old fort also had custody of a large group of military prisoners within its confines. On a night in May 1868 these convicts succeeded in making a mass breakout. In the city some of them attacked a police officer who, as one of them said, "is the son of a bitch who arrested me once." They assaulted him until he became insensible, robbed him, and fled into the night. Eventually, the sheriff's department captured a few of the escapees but, at last count, thirty-one remained at large. The Presidio ordered ball and chain for the men remaining in the guardhouse and the post quartermaster received orders to come up with new measures for guardhouse security.<sup>4</sup>

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2. William French, CO, PSF, February 1 1872, to Military Division of the Pacific, Letters Sent PSF; General Orders 32, PSF, November 9, 1870, Post Orders 1870-1871, both in U.S. Continental Commands, RG 393, NA; Post Returns, PSF, January 1876.

3. Orders for the Fort Point Guard, PSF microfilm, Bancroft Library, Berkeley; *Alta California*, September 11, 1866.

4. *Daily Alta California*, May 19, 1868; Special Orders 42, May 1, and 51, May 17, 1868, Post Letters, 1867-1869, PSF, RG 393, NA. It is believed that shortly after this incident the Fort Point military prisoners were moved to Alcatraz Island.

On one occasion the army engineers responsible for the upkeep of Fort Point asked the Presidio commander for the use of his men to perform some work involving ordnance coming from Alcatraz. The commander huffily replied that he did not have enough men to comply and, moreover, that kind of work was foreign to him. He suggested that the engineers employ an ordnance detachment from Benicia Arsenal.<sup>5</sup>

Elements of the 4th Artillery Regiment replaced the 2d when the latter transferred in October 1872. The 4th Artillery, in company for part of the time with a troop of the 1st Cavalry, remained at the Presidio until September 1881 when the 1st Artillery Regiment arrived to assume duty.<sup>6</sup>

The Army's organization was rigidly stratified, on duty and off. Violators of the rules and regulations could expect to be chastised severely for their transgressions. Historian Coffman has written, "The purpose of military justice was to reinforce the discipline necessary to maintain the authoritative system." Most crimes committed on post by soldiers would not be illegal in civilian life. At the Presidio, for example, the adjutant published an order in November 1865 announcing that all persons except commissioned officers were strictly forbidden to cross on any part of the parade ground other than the sidewalks. That order apparently proving insufficient, a circular appeared prohibiting horses from being ridden or driven across the board walks.<sup>7</sup>

Many disciplinary problems at army posts arose from the excessive use of alcohol. While the post trader sold wine and beer (and sometimes he was authorized to sell hard liquor), numerous bars, dives, card rooms, and brothels flourished outside the reservations. These "hog ranches" were prevalent at all army posts, even in urban areas. At San Francisco the west ends of Lombard and Greenwich streets just outside the Presidio thrived from soldier trade. On occasion, enraged soldiers sought revenge against the bars that

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5. Capt. A.C.M. Pennington, PSF, September 25, 1868, to Maj. George H. Elliot, CE, Letters Sent, PSF, RG 393, NA.

6. At first the U.S. Army used the term "company" for units making up a regiment in all combat arms. From 1861 to 1871 "company" and "battery" were interchangeable for the Artillery. In 1871 the Adjutant General prescribed only the term "battery" for artillery units. *The Army Almanac* (Harrisburg: Stackpole, 1959), p. 12. Likewise, a cavalry company eventually came to be called a "troop," in 1882.

7. Headquarters, PSF, Orders 55, November 18, 1865, Microfilm Presidio of San Francisco, Bancroft Library, Berkeley; Circular, September 8, 1868, Post Letters, 1867-1869, PSF; and Coffman, *Old Army*, p. 375.

had taken advantage of them while inebriated. But, off post or on, heavy drinking by recruits or old soldiers was a perpetual scourge. Bootleggers' activities on the reservation in 1868 resulted in orders forbidding anyone from selling ale or beer on the post except the post sutler. Liquor was probably the source of "riotous and disorderly conduct" in Company M a few months later. Headquarters demanded a full investigation of the incident in which one man was wounded. Illegal liquor transactions continued despite the orders and circulars. In 1878 the post trader complained that a city groceryman had delivered a keg of beer to the quarters of Sergeant Doyle, Battery B, 4th Artillery.<sup>8</sup>

Lt. Col. William French tried to find a solution concerning the alcoholic Ordnance Sgt. Charles Lange in 1872. Ordnance sergeants stood near the top of the enlisted aristocracy. Highly respected and experts in their field, they were essential to the operations of an artillery post. Lange was an old soldier who understood thoroughly the care of ordnance and the handling of heavy guns. Excessive drinking, however, disqualified him from performing his duties. French recommended that the sergeant not be discharged, "his family is large and entirely dependent," but transferred to a post where he could be closely supervised.<sup>9</sup>

On May 14, 1869 four privates, Company G, 2d Artillery, visited Casper Dix's grocery at the corner of Fillmore and Filbert streets, a short distance from the Presidio. After quaffing some beer they asked Dix for a bottle of whiskey. Dix, noting they were already intoxicated, refused. One thing led to another and soon a weapon was fired, a policeman and a bystander assaulted, and the store's contents damaged.

At their trial, charges against two of the soldiers were dismissed. One soldier was found guilty of assault and battery and petit larceny. The case of the fourth man was held over upon a charge of assault to murder.<sup>10</sup>

Liquor, on post or off, continued to be a concern. On Christmas Day and the following evening, 1901, Presidio soldiers attacked Torpey's Saloon near the Lombard Gate. They damaged the windows and

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8. Circular, June 19, 1868, Post Letters, 1867-1869, PSF; Adjutant, January 15, 1870, to Lt. A. Schenck, and June 18, 1878, to Lt. W. Ennis, Letters Sent, PSF, all in RG 393, NA.

9. French, March 26, 1872, to Department of California, Letters Sent, PSF RG 393, NA.

10. *Daily Alta California*, May 21, 1869.

doors before a cavalry detachment from the post dispersed them. City police did not file charges. Several months later soldiers gutted and tried to burn two saloons at the corner of Lyon and Greenwich streets. Army officers forced the culprits back on to the reservation. About the same time a family just outside the Central (Presidio) Avenue gate reported being annoyed by drunken cavalymen. Colonel Jacob B. Rawles assured the citizens that the men were leaving for overseas in a few days.<sup>11</sup>

At the end of 1901 an order came down prohibiting the sale of beer on military reservations, the result of prohibition activists. The Buffalo Brewing Company received an order to remove its "unsightly" canteen building at Fort Point. Yet, a year later the company had still not moved. Colonel Rawles wrote a letter concerning prohibition on the reserve and listed the names of twenty-four saloons within one mile of the reservation. He said that for the first seven months of 1901, when beer had been available on the post, there had been fifty-four cases of drunkenness, 226 absences without leave, and 221 desertions. For the first seven months of 1902 seventy-one cases of drunkenness had occurred, along with 286 absences without leave and 657 desertions. He believed, however, that the absence of beer canteens had not caused the dramatic increases, rather, the arrival of many thousands of raw recruits in the latter period caused the problem.<sup>12</sup>

Two minor incidents enlivened Colonel French's days during these years. First his eye caught an article in the local newspaper that Presidio soldiers had robbed a milkman at 4 a.m. on a Saturday morning. Soon two detectives arrived at his door asking permission for the milkman to inspect the command to identify the culprits. He willingly agreed since the command had already lined up for the Sunday dress parade. The milkman looked the battalion over but failed to recognize anyone. The other issue left him utterly frustrated. Civilian pot hunters constantly roamed the reservation looking for whatnot. The problem he faced was a lack of authority to use physical force to remove these people, "An officer who arrested three of them last night was told they had been arrested before and nothing could be done with them." Whether or not he found a solution remains unknown.

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11. Maj. H. ?, December 22, 1902, Charges and Specifications, Letters and Endorsements, Medical Department, 1902-1903; Rawles, January 3 and September 19, 1902, to Department of California, and September 19, 1902, to Charles Stewart, Letters Sent, RG 393, NA.

12. E. Millar, November 7, 1901, to Buffalo Brewing Co.; Rawles, August 1, 1902, to Department of California, Letters Sent, RG 393, NA.

Soldiers came from all walks of life and from all strata of society. Among them were the industrious and the disciplined, but also the contentious and the felonious. Fifty per cent of the men were foreigners, mostly Irish and Germans, who enlisted for many reasons. Some looked upon a military career as a means of assimilating the American way of life. Others considered a career in the Army to be an end in itself. In the ranks were men who found it difficult to obey the rules and regulations and who found themselves in difficulty with the Army and with the community.<sup>13</sup>

Relations between town and fort continuously fluctuated, becoming worse when the newspapers reported on criminal activities by enlisted men in the city. In 1869 the *Daily Alta California* had cause to recollect the "depredations and outrages" committed by the 14th Infantry Regiment during its brief stay at the Presidio in early 1866. The culprits this time came from the 21st Infantry Regiment that arrived in May in a brief stopover between assignments. When the 21st Infantry came through San Francisco again, in 1872, it was rushed off immediately to Benicia Barracks and denied the attractions of San Francisco.<sup>14</sup>

Tragedy came to the Presidio in 1887 when Pvt. Thomas Bateman murdered his sergeant, Samuel Soper. The dispute began when Soper assigned a horse to Bateman on July 4 that neither belonged to him nor suited him. They argued. That night in the city Bateman ran into Soper and his companions in a bar. The argument resumed and the sergeants beat upon the private. The next morning Bateman, still intoxicated, failed to make reveille. Soper awakened him and "used the most abusive language toward him, and called him vile names." Bateman shot the sergeant, "this is the first murder that has occurred at this post." The Army turned Bateman over to civil authorities.<sup>15</sup>

Not all insults came from officers. During a dispute of some kind Pvt. Henry Smeaton said to Pvt. James Manning, "You are an Irish pup and if I ever get a chance at you I will pull the liver out of you." For his trouble, Smeaton had to forfeit \$5 of his pay and was confined at hard labor for ten days. But the Irish had their day in court. In 1894 San Franciscan "Grand Marshal J. J. O'Brien" wrote to the Presidio asking

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13. Utley, *Frontier Regulars*, pp. 80-81.

14. French, October 24, 1872 and December 22, 1877, to Department of California, Letters Sent, PSF, RG 393, NA. *Daily Alta California*, May 16, 1869; Stephen Perry Jocelyn, *Mostly Alkali, A Biography* (Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton, 1953), p. 164.

15. CO, Battery A, 1st Artillery, June 28, 1887, Letters Received, 1887-1888, RG 393, NA; *Daily Alta California*, July 7, 1887.

permission for all soldiers of Irish descent to participate in the Irish Day parade in the City.<sup>16</sup>

Not all enlisted men acted the models of propriety. On one occasion three men took on the owner of the "Sea-Side Gardens", a resort just outside the Presidio's eastern boundary, and destroyed a large amount of property. After telephones had been installed at the Presidio a great deal of trouble ensued when the operator became drunk on duty and his replacement knew nothing about telephones. Another private received a court martial for becoming lost on maneuvers and "wandered around the country in a helpless manner." In his case the court found him not guilty. Another private was not as lucky. Accused of negligence and defiance when ordered to tie a loose horse to a picket line, he was found guilty, fined \$10, and placed in solitary confinement on bread and water for seven days.<sup>17</sup>

The proper uniform constantly arose as an issue. The post adjutant admonished Light Battery F, 5th Artillery, against wearing stable clothes on the garden detail. The men should have worn canvas fatigues. On another occasion two imaginative corporals appeared on post wearing the uniforms of an unspecified foreign army. Even the post surgeon was admonished for wearing a civilian vest under his unbuttoned uniform blouse.<sup>18</sup>

A San Francisco newspaper reported in 1891 the results of a prize fight in the city between two privates from the Presidio and Fort Mason. Col. William Graham became furious. Such exhibitions, he said, lowered the good name of the Army and the profession of arms. He promised higher headquarters to prevent further occurrences, with or without gloves. Another soldier who sullied the Army's reputation was Private Iseberg who, a detective reported, lived with a prostitute at 120 Prospect Place in the city. When the Army tried to apprehend him, Iseberg fled.<sup>19</sup>

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16. Orders 307, November 29, 1890, Post Orders 1890-1891, PSF; O'Brien, February 16, 1894, to CO, PSF, Register of Letters Received, 1893-1894, PSF, RG 393, NA.

17. H. Harris, December 10, 1889, to Major McGregor; Graham, May 27, 1891, to Department of California, Letters Sent; Orders 247, October 29, 1891, and Orders 71, April 29, 1895, Post Orders, 1891-1895, PSF, RG 393, NA.

18. J. Coffin, February 17, 1891, to CO, Battery F, and February 18, to Asst. Surg. L. Breckerin; and March 21, 1892, to CO, Battery K, 5th Artillery, Letters Sent, PSF, RG 393, NA.

19. Orders 272, December 1, 1891, Post Orders 1891-1892; Detective, San Francisco, February 13, 1896, to CO, PSF, Register of Letters Received 1896, PSF, RG 393, NA.

Pvt. Harry Y. Rhann, 3d Artillery found himself in trouble in April 1899. Posted as a sentinel on guard duty, he allowed a woman to share the sentry box. A few days later word reached headquarters that soldiers had set fire to a saloon near the Presidio. The Army sent a detachment "to quell the riot," but found neither soldiers nor a proprietor, just a burning building. The city police offered no help in identifying culprits, but a few days later the Presidio turned over four recruits to civil authorities.<sup>20</sup>

Sober ordnance sergeants became a topic when the Army looked around for a good man to send to Sitka, Alaska. The Presidio responded by saying neither of its two ordnance sergeants should be transferred. Sergeant William Hoffman at Fort Point "was just the man for the place and I would not like to see him removed." As for Ordnance Sergeant Lange (who must have sobered up) at the main post, he had that large family and a move to Alaska would be too expensive for him; also his children would be deprived of San Francisco's public schools.<sup>21</sup>

Army posts in the early nineteenth century had civilian sutlers or traders who, under an umbrella of regulations, operated stores for the benefit of soldiers and families alike. They sold the extras that government issues did not supply – canned delicacies, tobacco, beer, civilian clothing, and the like. Little knowledge has been preserved concerning the Presidio's early sutlers. After the Civil War the office of sutler was replaced by that of post trader who carried on similar activities but under tighter regulation. About 1869 a new post trader arrived, Angelo Marcian Gasper Beretta, who did leave an impression on the garrison. Family tradition held that Beretta, born in Switzerland, arrived in California by way of Australia and Hawaii sometime between the gold rush and the 1860s.

The post trader's store at that time was a frame structure to the west of the Civil War barracks, between them and the laundresses' row. A second structure most likely served as his residence (seven of Beretta's children were born at the Presidio). Beretta's name became permanently linked to the Presidio when, at the celebration of the centennial of the American Revolution in 1876, he planted three eucalyptus trees in honor of three daughters in front of the store. Later when the Army cleared that area for a new parade ground, it removed two of the trees. The third, the Commemoration or Centennial Tree, survives near the

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20 H.B. Freeman, April 22, 1899, to Department of California, Letters Sent; C.B. Thompson, April 26, 1899, to CO, PSF, Register of Letters Received, RG 393, NA.

21. French, March 26, 1872, to Department of California, Letters Sent, PSF; Col. H. Brooks, November 7, 1876, Post Endorsements, 1875-1878, both in RG 393, NA.



center of the parade.

That same year the U.S. House of Representatives investigated the Secretary of War William Belknap for accepting annual bribes from traders at army posts and Indian agencies. Apparently, a question arose asking if Beretta was tainted by the scandal and Washington wrote asking if the present trader's appointment should be revoked. Colonel Brooks replied that the Presidio's trader was a poor and honest man and there existed no need for a replacement. In another letter later in the year the commanding officer reaffirmed that the post trader was "acceptable to the officers of this command."<sup>22</sup>

General Halleck, possibly for his own benefit, directed the planting of trout in Mountain Lake in 1868. The instructions forbade any military personnel from interfering with the operation. Another matter concerning morale arrived at the adjutant's office from Private Oppenheim, 2d Artillery, when he requested permission to use an empty building for a "dancing club." Pvt. William Wolff's morale undoubtedly sank when he received a sentence for unknown crimes at a court martial: forfeit all pay and allowances, hard labor for two years, a 12-pound ball attached to his left leg by a 6-foot chain, and a dishonorable discharge.<sup>23</sup>

The enlisted men's welfare always required the attention of a conscientious officer. The post commander notified the Division in 1871 that San Francisco Bay was too cold for swimming (induced rheumatism) but each barracks had a washroom as did the hospital. The post surgeon also had responsibilities for enlisted personnel. In the case of Private Phillips, however, he could find only one cause for an unsound mind, "I am satisfied that Masturbation is a prominent one." The doctor could not prevent the death of Chief Musician Charles Kurtz, director of the 2d Artillery Band, in 1870. Company M was instructed to provide a funeral escort of sixteen rank and file "tomorrow afternoon at 2 o'clock." That same year the soldiers of Company M decorated the graves in the post cemetery on May 30.<sup>24</sup>

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22. Letitia Quatman Ellsworth, "The Centennial Tree," pp. 1-3; Brooks, January 22, 1874, to Department of California, Letters Sent, PSF; and March 20, 1876, Post Endorsements, 1875-1878; French, December 19, 1876, Post Endorsements, 1875-1878, all in RG 393, NA; U.S. Army, *Ecology Trail, U.S. Army Presidio of San Francisco* (1980), p. 14. The trader was not named in any of the 1876 correspondence. In the Bicentennial Year 1976 a Monterey Cypress was planted next to Beretta's tree.

23. AAG, Fry, Division of the Pacific, August 19, 1868, Microfilm PSF, Bancroft Library, Berkeley; PSF Post Endorsements, July 29, 1871; Post Adjutant, December 19, 1868, Letters Sent, PSF, RG 393, NA.

24. Capt. E. Williston, July 21, 1871, to Department of California, Letters Sent, PSF; Post Surg. S.A. Storrow, May 25, 1877, Post Endorsements 1875-1878; Special

The Presidio of San Francisco, with its magnificent viewpoints and nearness to the city and army headquarters, made it a destination of choice to visitors to the Bay Area, whether civilian or military, citizen or foreigner. In 1866 the widowed Queen Emma of Hawaii arrived at San Francisco. Governor Frederick F. Low, accompanied by state and federal officers, escorted the Queen on a tour of the harbor defenses aboard revenue cutter *Shubrick*. Generals Halleck and McDowell conducted a similar tour the following year for Japanese officials aboard *Wyanda*. Not to be outdone, the Chinese minister to the United States received a harbor tour led by General Halleck in 1868. Japanese commissioners returned in 1871, "A detachment of one officer and ten men will proceed to Fort Point for the purpose of firing a minute salute upon the landing there of the Japanese commissioners, or in the case of their not landing, when steamer *McPherson* is passing the fort."

In 1874 King Kalakawa of Hawaii paid a visit to the United States. Maj. Gen. John Schofield and Mayor James Otis greeted the king who spent a week in California before proceeding to Washington. Lt. Gen. Philip Sheridan of Civil War fame visited the Bay Area in 1875, as did an unnamed but high-ranking officer of the French Army.

Another distinguished officer in 1875, Brig. Gen. George Crook, accompanied by his aides Capt. John Bourke and Capt. Azor Nickerson, arrived in San Francisco fresh from his Apache campaign in Arizona and en route to the Great Plains for what would be the Great Sioux War. They enjoyed six days of sight-seeing, parties, and banquets. On their final evening 350 guests sat down with them to a twelve-course banquet at the Lick House. They departed the scene at three a.m. and boarded the train for Omaha.<sup>25</sup>

In contrast to the Civil War when families were not allowed, fifteen officer families lived on the Presidio in the 1870s. These families, or rather the officers themselves, were authorized the services of extra duty men to deliver the mail and to make the necessary market purchases. The problem in 1878 involved but

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Orders 62, July 9, 1870, Post Orders 1869-1871, all in RG 393, NA.

25. Marshall McDonald and Associates, *Report and Recommendations on Angel Island, 1769-1966* (n.p., n.p., 1966), pp. 72 and 74; Gladys Hansen, *San Francisco Almanac* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1975), p. 44; Richard A. Wisniewski, "The Rise and Fall of the Hawaiian Kingdom," *A Pictorial History* (Honolulu: Pacific Basin Enterprises, 1979), p. 67; Joseph C. Porter, *Paper Medicine Man, John Gregory Bourke and His American West* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1986), p. 23; Special Orders 11, January 20, 1871, Post Orders 1870-1871, PSF, RG 393, NA.

one soldier attempting to undertake both tasks. As a result he had to abandon his cart at the market while he checked at the post office for mail. the obvious solution called for extra duty men, but the record is incomplete.<sup>26</sup>

In order to keep a record of his officers' whereabouts, Colonel French issued the following:

Officers desiring to leave the post without being absent from any duty should notify their company commanders.

When the absence includes parades or drills, application should be made to the Commanding Officer, preferably in orderly hours and through the Adjutant.

Officers who desire to be absent at night will make their application in writing. One officer must always be present with each company.<sup>27</sup>

The custom of four laundresses per company continued in the Army in the early years following the Civil War. Not until 1878 did the Army ban this institution. Even then some lower-ranked enlisted men were married to women who may or may not have been laundresses. Tolerant commanders allowed these families to occupy the laundresses' quarters when feasible. In 1870 the Presidio directed that the quarters occupied by married men and laundresses be neatly whitewashed and their grounds properly policed. A year later Private Crofton requested quarters for his family in the old Spanish adobe that had served as officers' quarters in the early American period. These were considered most desirable but in order to accommodate the Croftons an unauthorized occupant, Mrs. Baker, would have to move to laundresses' row. At that time the post quartermaster noted that Corporal Bashford had moved into the adobe apparently on his own. In 1878 when the Presidio underwent a reduction in strength in order to accommodate incoming Division personnel, Colonel French noted that sixteen enlisted families had left

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26. French, April 24, 1878, to Department of California, Letters Sent, PSF, RG 393, NA. Throughout this chapter it has not always been possible to learn the results of the issues because of the lack of records. Record Group 393 quite often contains only a synopsis rather than the correspondence. Many of the "Letters Sent" and "Letters Received" files are missing as is the "Record of Medical History of Post."

27. Circular, October 21, 1870, Post Orders 1870-1871, PSF, RG 393, NA.

the post, while eleven laundresses and a hospital matron remained.<sup>28</sup>

## **B. Division of the Pacific and the Corps of Engineers**

Organized in June 1865, the Military Division of the Pacific, under the command of Maj. Gen. Henry W. Halleck, at first commanded military operations in California, Oregon, Nevada, and the territories of New Mexico, Arizona, Washington, and Idaho. New Mexico transferred to another division later in 1865 and the territory of Alaska joined in 1867. Both the departments of California and the Columbia came under the Division, Maj. Gen. Irvin McDowell commanding California. Arizona became a separate department in 1870. Maj. Gen. George H. Thomas ("the Rock of Chickamauga") succeeded Halleck in June 1869. He died of apoplexy while sitting at his desk in San Francisco on March 2, 1870. Brig. Gen. E.O.C. Ord followed Thomas. Then, in 1870, Maj. Gen. John M. Schofield became commander of both the Division of the Pacific and the Department of California. After five years as commanding general, Schofield transferred in 1876 and General McDowell returned to San Francisco to take his place.<sup>29</sup>

Halleck maintained a fairly small staff of about twelve officers and seven clerks and messengers. The offices for both the Division and the Department remained at 742 Washington Street in the city until 1867 when they moved to 204 Sutter Street. From 1869 to 1871 the Department of California occupied an office at 417 Kearny Street, while the Division remained on Sutter. Then, in 1871 both moved to 703 Market Street. Landlords loved the rent that the Army paid and the year 1873 found both at 107 Stockton Street. Another move, down the street in 1875, found the headquarters at 105 Stockton. Finally, in 1876 McDowell moved to the Phelan Building in downtown San Francisco where headquarters, with one notable break, remained until that building was destroyed in the 1906 earthquake.<sup>30</sup>

The U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, including its Board of Officers for Fortifications, Pacific, maintained

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28. General Orders 44, December 16, 1870, Post Orders 1870-1871, PSF; Lt. J. Lord, post quartermaster, May 18 and August 17, 1871, Post Endorsements, PSF; French, June 23, 1878, to Department of California, Letters Sent, PSF, all in RG 393, NA.

29. U.S. Army, *Outline Description of the Posts and Stations of Troops in the Military Division of the Pacific* (San Francisco 1871); and *Military Posts in the Military Division of the Pacific*, 1879, p. 69.

30. *San Francisco City Directories*, California Historical Society. The question has been raised as to where headquarters held retirement parades and the like. Fort Mason? Presidio of San Francisco? The records reply with a total silence.

offices at San Francisco during this period at 533 Kearny street. Independent of General Halleck, the senior engineer reported directly to the Chief of Engineers in Washington. At times this line of authority allowed the engineers and the general to cooperate for a common goal. At other times Halleck interfered with the engineers' responsibilities, causing much anguish.

An example of cooperation occurred in 1868 when the Chief of Engineers asked Col. B. S. Alexander to investigate secretly the British naval and military establishments on Vancouver Island and mainland British Columbia. In his reply Alexander detailed at length what he had observed himself as well as the opinions of Halleck who had made a more recent visit to Victoria.<sup>31</sup>

Then there were times that tried engineers' souls. Chief Engineer A. A. Humphreys wrote Halleck in 1868 that Halleck had inspected the Engineer Office in San Francisco and had ordered certain of its employees to be replaced, "I have to request that this interference with duties under my control may not be repeated." A few months later Humphreys challenged Halleck's opinion that the Engineers' new steamer at San Francisco "is a useless expense." Not only was it a judicious and economical expense, it was far better than the extravagant cost of the steamer (\$50,000 in gold) that Halleck's people had recently purchased, "I . . . have now to request that the Secretary of War will correct his [Halleck's] offensive interference with duties of others."<sup>32</sup>

The Division of the Pacific had its own engineer officer on the staff who did report directly to the commanding general. That officer from 1867 to 1871 was Maj. Henry Martyn Robert. Years later Robert recalled that while at San Francisco he was called upon to preside at a meeting but did not know how to do it. When he looked for a book of instructions, he found none. He sat down and wrote *Pocket Manual of Rules of Order*, which was published in 1876.<sup>33</sup>

Chief of Engineers Humphreys renewed the subject of formal names for San Francisco fortifications in

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31. Chief of Engineers Humphreys, January 27, 1868, to Alexander; Letters Sent Alexander, March 14, 1868, to Humphreys, Letters Received (A File), 1867-1870, both in OCE, RG 77, NA.

32. Humphreys, April 1, 1868, to Halleck, and July 30, 1868, to the Adjutant General, Letters Sent, 1866-1870, OCE, RG 77, NA.

33. Mae K. Silver, "Henry M. Robert's San Francisco Experience," MS, p. 2; *Webster's American Military Biographies*, pp. 351-352. Robert enlarged, revised, and published his work in 1915 as *Robert's Rules of Order Revised*.

1874. This time he recommended that the works at Fort Point be named Fort Lincoln, in honor of the late president; the north side of the Golden Gate be named Fort Stanton for the late Secretary of War; and the works on Alcatraz Island, Fort McPherson. Once again, nothing happened.<sup>34</sup>

On one occasion, in 1869, General Halleck asked Engineer Alexander for the temporary services of one of his San Francisco officers. Alexander selected Capt. Charles W. Raymond directing him to report to the general "for the purpose of going to Fort Yukon and ascertaining the latitude and longitude of that place." The Hudson's Bay Company had established the fort on the Yukon River about 1850. After the purchase of Alaska, American authorities began to doubt Britain's claim to the post, suspecting it stood on Alaskan territory. Captain Raymond departed San Francisco in April and arrived at Fort Yukon by steamboat in July. He carried out the survey, determined that the fort had been erected in Alaska, raised the United States flag, and ordered the employees of the Honorable Company to depart.<sup>35</sup>

### **C. Maintaining a Fort**

A sharp earthquake jolted the San Francisco peninsula in October 1868. While causing damage to the fort at Fort Point, it seemed not to have affected the main post, at least it did not cause a flurry of correspondence.<sup>36</sup> In 1870 and 1871 both the Army's Surgeon General and Quartermaster General published descriptive reports on the military posts, stations, barracks, and hospitals in the nation. Post Surg. (Major) Joseph C. Baily prepared the Presidio report for the Surgeon General. He wrote that the reservation had a gravelly slope that ascended gradually from the sands and salt-water marshes along the bay. Behind (south) the post the ground rose rapidly into grass-covered hills. He estimated its size to be 1,540 acres. The post had good natural drainage that was improved by shallow ditches around the buildings. The grass-covered parade ground measured 550 yards by 150 yards. Buildings lined three sides while the fourth (northeast end) opened onto the bay. By then officers' row (on Funston Avenue) had a wind fence (lattice lath), twelve feet high, thirty-six feet from the houses, and extending along the

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34. Humphreys, July 15, 1874 to Secretary of War Belknap, Letters Sent 1873-1875, OCE, RG 77, NA.

35. Board of Engineers, Pacific Coast, Orders 1, March 3, 1869, Letters Received, Second Division, 1866-1870, OCE, RG 77, NA; U.S. Army, *The U.S. Army in Alaska* (1976), p. 12. In World War II Fort Raymond at Seward, Alaska, was named in the captain's honor.

36. Bearss, *Fort Point*, pp. 229-230.

west side of the row. Branch fences extended from it to the houses. The quartermaster had planted pines and acacias at eighteen-foot intervals between the fence and the quarters. He then described the buildings at the main post:

Barracks:

One, 18 feet by 80 feet, one story, for one company  
One, 18 feet by 95 feet, one story, for one company  
Four, each 18 feet by 51 feet, one story, for one company  
(Each of the above six barracks had an adjoining kitchen – mess room)  
One, 25 feet by 117 feet, two story, for two companies  
(With kitchen and mess room in an adjoining building, 16 feet by 117 feet)  
(Four, 30 feet by 120 feet, two story, each for two companies  
(These had kitchens and mess rooms in their basements)  
All barracks had iron bedsteads.

Officers' Row:

Bachelor Officers' Quarters, 14 feet by 32 feet, two stories and basement, with a 30 feet by 40 feet wing, 39 rooms  
Twelve 1½ story cottages, 18 feet by 31 feet, with bathrooms attached

Laundresses:

One, 28 feet by 90 feet, one story, twelve rooms  
One, 37 feet by 45 feet, two story, twelve rooms [the fifth 1865 barracks?]  
Eight, 27 feet by 60 feet, one story, eight rooms each  
One, 29 feet by 160 feet, eighteen rooms  
One, 55 feet by 87 feet, fourteen rooms  
One, 26 feet by 45 feet, three rooms  
One, 23 feet by 60 feet, three rooms  
One, adobe, one story, seven families

Post buildings:

Adjutant's office, 30 feet by 36 feet, one story, four rooms  
Guardhouse, 30 feet by 40 feet, two stories, upper floor-guard room, lower floor – main prison room 20 feet by 35 feet and cells, each 5 feet by 10 feet.  
Chapel, 30 feet by 45 feet  
School house, 18 feet by 30 feet  
Bake house, 18 feet by 42 feet  
Hospital, 40 feet by 80 feet

Workshops:

Wheelwright, 30 feet by 80 feet

Blacksmith, 20 feet by 50 feet

Storehouses:

Magazine, 23 feet by 28 feet

Quartermaster and subsistence, 30 feet by 110 feet, brick foundation

Hay and grain, 24 feet by 66 feet

Lumber (hardwood), 18 feet by 51 feet

Gunsheds, 30 feet by 175 feet (ordnance stores in loft)

Stables:

Two for battery horses, 30 feet by 215 feet (87 stalls each) forage lofts

Mule shed, 16 feet by 430 feet

Major Baily wrote about the hospital at length (this was the Surgeon's report) saying it measured 40 feet by 80 feet with a wing 22 feet by 35 feet. The whole had a brick basement and a porch in front. (An 1870 plan indicated porches both front and rear.) The hospital, divided into four wards and a smaller ward for prisoners, contained fifty beds. The average occupancy at that time came to seventeen. The hospital attendants had their own room. These rooms contained water pipes, marble basins, wardrobes, tables, and chairs. They had coal burning fireplaces. The hospital also contained a dispensary, library, post-mortem room, two bathrooms, kitchen, pantry, storeroom, and mess room. The hospital library held 500 volumes – travel, biography, history, fiction, and religion. The hospital kept one cow and maintained a small vegetable garden.

The 2d Artillery's regimental library contained 1,478 volumes and was housed in a set of officers' quarters. The post garden of ten acres produced such basic vegetables as potatoes, cabbages, turnips, and onions. It supplied sufficient quantities so that the post rarely had to purchase produce from outside.

Good water came to the post via the flume of the Spring Valley Water Company. A windmill, located near the stables, and mule power forced the water into a reservoir at the south end of the compound. From there pipes carried the water to the various buildings. Waste water pipes and latrines emptied into



covered sewers that ran along either side of the post and drained into the bay.<sup>37</sup>

The Quartermaster General's 1871 publication was briefer in form. Lt. J.H. Lord, the post quartermaster, prepared the Presidio section in 1870. While rearranged somewhat, Lord copied much from Baily. The main differences involved the barracks and the laundresses quarters. While Baily had listed eleven barracks, Lord showed only nine, which suggests that two had either been empty or had found other uses. Concerning the laundresses' buildings, Lord further identified which were adobe:

Laundresses:

- Eight frame buildings, 27 feet by 60 feet, each with eight rooms
- One, frame, 28 feet by 90 feet, with twelve rooms
- One, frame, 37 feet by 45 feet, two stories, six rooms
- One, adobe, 29 feet by 160 feet, eighteen rooms
- One, adobe, 55 feet by 87 feet, fourteen rooms
- One adobe, 23 feet by 60 feet, three rooms
- One adobe, one story, seven families
- One (frame?) 26 feet by 45 feet, three rooms

Concerning water, Lord added more detail: a water wagon supplied the post, and a pipe ran from "Tunnel Spring," 2,300 feet, to the reservoir.<sup>38</sup>

While these reports dealt with only buildings at the main post, considerably more man-made forms had come into being on the reservation since the arrival of the New York Volunteers nearly twenty-five years earlier. A small map that accompanied Baily's report showed a picket fence along the east side of officers' row that extended along the south end of the post to the southernmost barracks. This fence also ran part way along the west side of the barracks. A road from town entered the parade ground at the alameda (Presidio Boulevard today). Another road from the city headed toward the stable area near the north end of the parade (Lincoln Boulevard). It was labeled "gate closed up" at the boundary line. An internal road

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37. Surgeon General, *Circular 4, A Report on Barracks and Hospitals, with Descriptions of Military Posts* (Washington: War Department, 1870), reprint 1974, pp. 172-175. The Surgeon General republished Baily's report in 1875 with little change.

38. Quartermaster General, *Outline Description of U.S. Military Posts and Stations in the Year 1871* (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1872), pp. 92-93. Concerning Tunnel Spring, a large map of the reservation prepared in 1870 appears to show a pipeline running from "Queen Spring," a source a short distance southwest of historic El Polin Spring that seems to be indicated by a pool of water. An undocumented account of El Polin Spring described its appearance in 1870 as having a well, three feet in diameter and ten feet deep and about six feet east of the stream bed. Box 38.1, "El Polin Spring," Presidio Army Museum.

surrounded the parade. It corresponded to today's Mesa Street, Moraga Avenue, Graham Street, and Lincoln. Three planked walks divided the parade into thirds and the flagstaff stood in the center of the parade directly west of the alameda. Cannon protected it. At the north end of the post roads branched off to the west and northwest one heading for Fort Point, the other to Presidio wharf and beach. Two gardens were shown, one north of the hospital and a smaller one off to the southwest. Toward the north end of laundresses row, a small cemetery had been fenced in. Figuratively or not, the map depicted fourteen graves. Between the barracks and the laundresses and east of an intermittent stream, a post trader's two buildings held forth. At the south end of the laundresses' row and a little removed from it stood the mule corral; the sheds around three sides made up the extraordinary length of 430 feet.<sup>39</sup>

Lieutenant Lord's report, also prepared in 1870, contained a similar small map. It showed vegetation and contours in more detail. Some of the officers' quarters had elaborate gardens in their back yards. A letter "g" identified the quartermaster storeroom as being in the northernmost barracks. The magazine, "m," was shown as a solid building west of the guardhouse. The gunshed, "p," may have been the easternmost of the three long buildings in the stable area. The cemetery showed ten markers.

In addition to these maps, two large ones prepared in 1870 depicted the entire reservation in detail. In response to demands being made upon the military reservation by citizens, the City of San Francisco, and the State of California, the Department of California directed Lt. George M. Wheeler, Corps of Engineers, to carry out the survey that resulted in the two maps, each detailed by different draftsmen. While they had a great deal in common the map prepared by C. E. Fellerer gave the more accurate depiction of the area.<sup>40</sup>

A trail entering the reservation near Tonquin Street extended westward along the beach and joined the road that ran from the main post to Fort Point. This lane may have been the attempt of the Bay Shore and Fort Point Road Company to build a road from San Francisco to Fort Point in 1863, which road did reach the Harbor View resort adjacent to the reservation. The principal and only finished road on the reserve ran from near Lombard Street to the main post and on to Fort Point. Numerous unimproved trails led in various directions over the reservation, including an unimproved road from the main post, over the

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39. Map, "Presidio of San Francisco, California," from the 1870 Surgeon General's Report.

40. The land and boundary issues are discussed in a following section.

slough, to the Presidio wharf. The Presidio's ten acres of gardens were shown in the vicinity of Mountain Lake and along Lobos Creek.

A new, fenced, post cemetery lay on a slope about 1,800 feet west of the flagstaff (the site of the present National Cemetery). In the Fort Point area Fellerer depicted the 1865 laundresses' huts and the barracks, water system, engineers' compound, fort, and the railroad from the engineers' wharf to the fort. The map showed non-military developments, including the Presidio House, a resort in the controversial triangle of land between future Lyon Street and Broderick Street.

Apparently the wind fence in front of officers' row had proved its worth against the ocean breezes for in 1871 Surgeon Baily requested a similar lattice fence be constructed along the front and southern end of the hospital porch. He wanted doors in this fence to match the doors leading into the hospital. Twice that year the post quartermaster had to repair the halyards on the parade ground flagstaff.<sup>41</sup>

Colonel French became concerned in the spring of 1871 about the sewer system. Until then the drain pipes had been wooden and had proved unsatisfactory for both officers' and barracks' rows. If the barracks sewer were reconstructed with wood, it would take 10,200 feet of lumber, cost \$204, and last only three years. A cement sewer, however, would last fifty years and there would be no odors. He recommended cement "as absolutely necessary for the health and cleanliness of the command."<sup>42</sup>

Lieutenant Lord's response to a now-lost letter in 1871 provided the answer as to how one-story barracks at the Presidio became two stories. For some time there had been a need for more barrack space because of the growing complement of troops and the obsolescence of older structures. The hastily-built, 1865, two-story barracks at the south end of the row were about worn out. Lord prepared his plan. He proposed raising the one-story barracks and building a new floor underneath on the same plan as the building then had. He thought that this scheme would be the most economical and give the most satisfaction. To raise the structure eleven feet would cost \$275 and a new redwood foundation would require 500 feet of 6 by 6 timber.

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41. Baily, September 25, 1871, Post Endorsements, PSF; Lord, April 10, 1871, Endorsements Sent, PSF; Post Adjutant, December 13, 1871, to Lord, Letters Sent, PSF, RG 393, NA.

42. Lord, April 10 and 26, 1871, Post Endorsements, PSF; French, April 11 and 26, 1871, Endorsements Sent, 1871, PSF, RG 393, NA.

Lord was ahead of the times. Not until 1884 did the quartermaster department convert the two barracks at the north end of the row to two stories (today, 86 and 87) for cavalry troops who needed to be close to the stables.<sup>43</sup>

Only a portion of the annual building report for 1873 has survived. The Presidio forwarded this portion to Washington in a failed effort to acquire construction funds. Among the details was an item saying that the Corral had sixteen sets of quarters each having two rooms. One of the cottages on officers' row served as a post library and billiard room. Two frame barracks, 30 by 120 feet, had so far deteriorated that their doors and windows were missing. The post chapel remained in good condition, but not so the school house. The 4th Artillery Regiment had replaced the 2d and it had a large number of married officers. Since the Corral did not serve married couples well, a recommendation called for the largest officer's quarters, no. 12 (today, 5) being converted into a duplex.<sup>44</sup>

The Presidio wharf became a matter of correspondence in 1874. A mystery surrounded its origins, but the Army agreed that it was private property and the owner wished to remove it. The Presidio requested funds for a new government wharf to be located about 140 yards farther east. To reach twelve feet of water it would need to be 100 yards long; eighteen feet of water, 120 yards (low tide). The Presidio justified the expense by saying that fuel and forage would be cheaper if brought by water. Also, the roads to the city were almost impassable during the rainy season. For once, the Secretary of War approved and the Presidio acquired \$6,265 for the work.<sup>45</sup>

The following year Lieutenant Simpson submitted a request to move one of the 1865 two-story barracks at the southwest corner of the post into the rectangle proper. It had no windows or doors and no inside lining. It did have a good frame and could be remodeled into a sound barracks. Then he could convert

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43. Lord, November 15, 1871, Post Endorsements, PSF, RG 393, NA. Proof is lacking that barracks 86 and 87, now two stories, were originally the one story buildings at the north end of the row. Today building 87 is slightly longer than building 86. That they are the original, but modified, structures appears to be born out by Baily's 1870 report that listed one barracks 95 feet in length and one, 80 feet. (All the others then being considerably shorter.)

44. Lt. J. Simpson, Portion of Annual Report for 1872-1873, PSF, CCF, RG 92, NA. Quarters 12 had become the largest because of unofficial add-ons.

45. Simpson, November 21, 1874, to Department of California, CCF, PSF, OQMG, RG 92, NA.

one of the old one-story barracks into much needed recreation and reading rooms and move the post library out of the officer's quarters, which apparently an officer's family was sharing with the books. Approval given, the barracks moved the length of the parade ground and became the first structure to partially block the open view to the northeast. A sketch map prepared before 1878 labeled it the "New Barracks for Batt'y."<sup>46</sup>

Centennial year, 1876, brought little change to the Presidio's physical plant. The post surgeon requested \$250 for repairs to the hospital, including \$100 to replace the flooring of the two porches on the eastern side. Troop D, 1st Cavalry, joined the post in 1876. Its commander, Capt. E.V. Sumner, submitted a request to have the abandoned guardhouse at the Fort Point wharf moved to the main post for the use of his stable guard. In his annual request for repair funds, the post quartermaster noted that the laundresses' quarters were in a deplorable condition, "mere shells at best," and the Corral, which he called Bachelors Hall, needed repairs although there were few bachelor officers at the post. Another proposal called for new planking in front of the adjutant's office and the guardhouse. Guard mount in that area had worn out the existing planking. It no longer defended against the mud.<sup>47</sup>

Other than the Army's planting trees along officers' row, the records recorded little attention toward landscaping or beautification in these early years. Maps and photographs showed that attention was paid to the alameda, the entrance to the parade ground. In 1876 the commander, Colonel Brooks, explained that he had used his Reserve Fund to hire a skilled man to maintain the trees and shrubbery along officers' row. (At the same time the post surgeon pointed out that the wooden walkway in front of these quarters had so deteriorated as to cause "throat disease" to the residents.) Brooks said that the only income the Reserve Fund had came from renting out the reservation for stock grazing. Unless he could employ a good man to collect these assessments there would be little income and the animals would soon overrun

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46. Simpson, May 12, 1875, to QMG, CCF, OQMG, RG 92, NA; Sketch Map accompanying *Outline Descriptions of the Military Posts in the Military Division of the Pacific*, 1879. By then the four 1865 barracks had been demolished. This remodeled barracks became the home of the light artillery battery at the Presidio because of its nearness to the stables.

47. Surg. J.C. McKee, Estimate for Hospital Repair 1876; AQM J.W. Roder, July 13, 1876, to QMG, both in CCF, PSF, OQMG, RG 92, NA; Capt. E.V. Sumner, February 15, 1876, to CO, PSF, Post Endorsements 1875-1878, RG 393, NA. A year later materials for the eight laundresses' quarters arrived: walls and underpinning, floors for 64 rooms, repair of steps, roof shingles, ten doors and frames, and six windows and frames. Maj. A.P. Howe, September 11, 1877, Post Endorsements 1875-1878, PSF, RG 393, NA.

the place because the fences and gates were constantly out of order.<sup>48</sup>

About that time the post quartermaster, Lt. Frederick Fuger, prepared an estimate for painting the officers' quarters. Neither the quarters nor the chapel had been painted for some years and he "proposed to paint the body of the cottages with shade no. 2; the mouldings with shade 24; and the shutters with shade 30." He attached a pamphlet "Best Paint in the World" from the Pacific Rubber Paint Company in San Francisco that showed shade 2 to be a light yellowish brown, shade 24, a grayish blue (more gray than blue), and shade 30, a rich green. Another of Fuger's letters disclosed that the Presidio no longer contracted for wood as fuel but now depended on coal for heating and cooking. The only major construction in 1877 was a coal bin that had a capacity of 3,673,000 pounds.<sup>49</sup>

For many years the Presidio's main vegetable gardens had been in the vicinity of Mountain Lake. In 1873, however, the War Department granted a revocable lease to the Treasury Department for land in the vicinity of the lake for a new Marine Hospital. The wood-frame hospital, costing \$60,000, stood completed in 1875. Two years later the hospital's vegetable gardens had spilled over onto Presidio land. The post commander, Maj. A. P. Howe, raised the issue when he informed the Department that the post garrison no longer received benefit from the gardens. The Department ordered him to investigate fully.

Howe learned that the Marine Hospital's grounds amounted to nearly eighty-six acres. Of that, the hospital cultivated eight and a half acres (Howe thought it had forty acres capable of being cultivated). In addition the Hospital had taken over eight acres of Presidio land. From what he could learn the Hospital consumed only a small portion of the total produce. Howe urged that all the ground outside the hospital reserve be recovered by the Army and that the garrison resume gardening there. This issue marked the first of continuing squabbles between the two agencies.<sup>50</sup>

As 1877 drew to a close, the Presidio of San Francisco experienced many of the problems that beset all western forts despite being adjacent to a prosperous city. The availability of construction and repair funds

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48. Brooks, August 25, 1876, to Department of California, Letters Sent, PSF, RG 393, NA; Post surgeon, May 10, 1877, to Post Adjutant, CCF, PSF, OQMG, RG 92, NA.

49. Fuger, March 12 and July 22, 1877, to Department of California, CCF, PSF, OQMG, RG 92, NA.

50. Howe, October 4, 1877, to Department of California, Letters Sent, PSF; and October 19, 1877, Post Endorsements 1875-1878, PSF, both in RG 393, NA.

constantly failed to meet the demand. Physically the main post and Fort Point had changed but little from the final days of the Civil War a decade earlier.

#### **D. City and Fort**

The first transcontinental railroad reached California in 1869. By 1870 San Francisco's population approached 150,000 people. Citizens had developed property over much of the peninsula and some pressed their claims against the east and south boundaries of the Presidio. Illustrative of the encroaching city, particularly along the scenic bay front, were resorts and recreational activities that crowded against the military reservation. Just outside the Lombard Street gate the Presidio House resort catered to citizen and soldier since at least the 1860s. Joseph Lee painted a handsome picture of the establishment in 1868. It showed Presidio buildings in the background as well as the verdant Marin hills across the bay.

In addition to Presidio House another public resort bordered the Presidio by the 1860s, Harbor View. Rudolph Hermann erected this establishment near the future intersection of Jefferson and Baker streets near both the Presidio and the bay. The Department of California received a petition from Hermann in June 1872 in which he asked permission to lay a street railroad from the terminus of the Sutter Street railroad through the Presidio "to and beyond" Fort Point. The Department asked the senior engineer, Lt. Col. Charles S. Stewart, for his opinion. Stewart replied that Germans gathered at the resort for drinking, dancing, shooting, and the like. Crowds gathered there on weekends. Because it was close to Fort Point, troublesome persons made their way there and Stewart found it necessary to post a watchman on Sundays to keep people off the parapets of the new coastal batteries being constructed, "A railroad would bring hundreds of like persons where there is one now." The commanding general let it be known there would be no railroad to Fort Point, but he would not mind one being built into the Presidio as far as the barracks. Such a railroad would take time.<sup>51</sup>

In 1948, Pat Kane, a long-time resident of the Marina district, described the Harbor View of the 1890s as he remembered it. He said that Rudolph Hermann founded the resort in the 1860s, beginning with a roadhouse and shooting gallery. Referring to a photograph, he described the white, two story shooting

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51. S. Breck, Department of California, June 10, 1872, to CO, PSF; Stewart, July 26, 1872, to Chief of Engineers, Land Papers, PSF, OCE, RG 77, NA.

gallery to the west. A building housing a bar stood in the center of the resort. A columned porch reached by nine steps stretched across its front. To the east were picnic grounds and a dance hall that had a round roof. Toward the bay were the heated salt water baths. In Kane's time a four story, square, white tower with lookout windows in the top story stood near the baths. The picnic grounds came to an end at the time of the 1906 earthquake. The 1915 Panama-Pacific Exposition caused the closing of the resort. Kane also recalled that a picnic park called the Seaside Gardens and a German beer garden also operated in the vicinity.<sup>52</sup>

By 1870 disputes arose between the civil authorities and the Army as to the true boundaries of the reservation. In the spring of 1867 Deputy Surveyor James T. Stratton surveyed the "Pueblo of San Francisco" and the Presidio to establish officially the line of ownership between the federal government and the city. The city then proceeded to dispose of the lands outside the lines.

Not until Brig. Gen. E.O.C. Ord took command of the Department of California in 1868 did the Army begin to question the Stratton survey. In October 1868 the Department ordered the Presidio to locate the cannon at the southeast corner of the reserve, now regarded as the initial point, that Captain Keyes had planted in 1850. The results of that dig are unknown but General Ord directed Lt. George M. Wheeler to carry out a new survey of the reservation.<sup>53</sup>

General Ord, considering the results of the Stratton and Wheeler surveys, filed a protest in November 1868. This protest showed the boundary changes that the Army insisted upon. Most prominent of these

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52. Robert O'Brien, "Saltwater Baths and Moonlight Picnics, 1890s," *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 1948, reprinted in *Marine Memoirs*, Local History Studies, 16: 17-18, California History Center, Cupertino, CA. Presidio records contain mention of the army band giving concerts at the Seaside Gardens.

53. *Daily Alta California*, February 14, 1874, and September 24, 1877; Department of California, October 23, 1868, to CO, PSF, PSF Microfilm, Bancroft Library, Berkeley. "Pueblo of San Francisco" was a legal term much used in the early American period when the courts and legislatures attempted to settle land claims that originated before and after 1848. Bancroft, in his history of California, stated, "It seems to have been generally understood that by law and usage a pueblo was entitled to at least four leagues of land." And, "as a matter of fact, San Francisco was a pueblo in 1835-46 . . . . By an act of congress in 1866 the United States ceded the government title to the city . . . excepting the military reservations." In his history of California, Professor John W. Caughy wrote, "The Act [of Congress] of 1851 gave due recognition to the Spanish-Mexican practice whereby a town was entitled to four leagues of land." In the case of San Francisco, in 1860, "the state supreme court upheld the pueblo title. Congress made the ordinance effective against any possible federal title, and in 1867 the pueblo title was finally confirmed." Bancroft, *California*, 6: 565-568; Caughy, *California*, pp. 156-157.



included the Army's insistence that the marsh and tidal lands along the bay in the lower Presidio be included in the reserve – the Stratton survey had excluded them, and a new true boundary line along the southern boundary from the initial point to Mountain Lake. This latter included a long sliver of land previously outside the boundary due to faulty surveying in the past.

The City of San Francisco promptly protested Ord's claims insofar as the "tide marsh" lands were concerned. At the same time several individuals, including Adolph Hermann, claimed ownership of lands in the triangle on the east side of the reserve between future Lyon Street and Broderick Street. The Division engineer, Maj. Henry M. Robert, reported in 1870 that the Tide Land Commissioners of California claimed all the land between the shore line and the curves of twenty-four feet of water, and that the North San Francisco Homestead and Rail Road Association claimed ownership of the marsh land having acquired title through an act of the California legislature.<sup>54</sup>

While not directly related to the boundary controversies, the Presidio commander, Capt. A. C. M. Pennington, 2d Artillery, took action in February 1869 to remove "Mr. Cotter" and associates from their "Mountain Lake House." He ordered a corporal and a private, both armed with Spencer carbines, to occupy the property and to resist by force any attempts by citizens to reoccupy.<sup>55</sup>

The battle had barely begun. In June 1869 Secretary of War Gen. Maj. John M. Schofield notified the Chief of Engineers that a suit had been commenced in the U.S. Circuit Court to remove 5,000 acres of land in California from federal control. Process had already been served on Captain Pennington inasmuch as the suit embraced the Presidio. The War Department reacted by directing the Engineer Department to determine what military reservations in the Bay Area might be sold without injury to the defenses. "The object now in view," wrote the Chief of Engineers, "is to offer such ground as can be spared . . . and to propose to Congress that the proceeds be set apart and appropriated to the purpose of continuing the defensive works of the harbor of San Francisco."<sup>56</sup>

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54. *Daily Alta California*, September 24, 1877; Robert, December 15, 1870, to Military Division of the Pacific, Bulky File, OCE, RG 77, NA.

55. Special Orders 24, February 23, 1869, Post Orders 1867-1869, PSF; Pennington, February 24, 1869, to Department of California, Letters Sent, PSF, RG 393, NA.

56. Secretary of War, June 24, 1869, to Engineer Department; Chief of Engineers, July 26, and 27, 1869, to Board of Engineers, Pacific Coast, Bulky File, OCE, RG 77, NA.

The Engineers at San Francisco remained firm in their response. They recommended that no land be sold off. The federal government should resist California's claim to the overflowed land in front of the Presidio, the very land the Army would want to plant guns in case of a naval attack. The 200 or so acres in the contested area on the Presidio's east boundary, however, might be disposed of without injury to the government.<sup>57</sup>

In December 1869 General Ord and Surveyor General Day toured the Presidio and together reviewed the situation. Both concluded that a new survey was a necessity. While Day wondered who owned the marsh lands, the city or the state, Ord wrote that the "Swamp land" and all the water front below the line of high tide should be part of the Presidio and efforts should be made to extinguish any State title to the waterfronts.<sup>58</sup>

The Surveyor General's recommendations went to the General Land Office, Washington, D.C., in December 1869, where they were misplaced or lost until 1877. Meanwhile, Wheeler carried out a new survey, which resulted in the excellent 1870 maps of the Presidio. *The Daily Alta California* fumed, "the Commander of the Military Department, misunderstanding entirely his rights and the rights of citizens, took possession of this land, and it has been so held ever since. We are convinced that Stratton's survey was correct."<sup>59</sup>

While Wheeler directed his survey, Bill 370 appeared in the U.S. Senate calling for the transfer of the Presidio to the City of San Francisco for the purpose of a public park. When the Board of Engineers, Pacific Coast, reviewed this proposal, it concluded that the title should remain in the United States: "Here may be collected a body of troops in any time of public danger, and the reservation is not too large to accommodate even a small army. From [here] . . . they will be free to march to the points where they may be needed on this shore." The board noted that the fort at Fort Point was now outmoded, its embrasures no longer large enough to accommodate the latest (15- and 20-inch) guns. Engineers already were

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57. Board of Engineers, Pacific Coast, October 15, 1869, Bulky File, OCE, RG 77, NA.

58. Surveyor General Day, December 8, 1869, to General Land Office; Ord, ca. December 1869, Bulky file, OCE, RG 77, NA; *Daily Alta California*, September 24, 1877.

59. *Daily Alta California*, February 14, 1874; Department of California, February 3, 1870, to Wheeler, Bulky File, OCE, RG 77, NA.

designing new batteries for seventy-five heavy guns, fifty emplacements on the ocean side of the Presidio, twenty-five on the bay front. When emplaced these weapons would fire over the beach and the whole shore of the reservation was required.<sup>60</sup>

Another bill in the U.S. Senate that spring, number 533, called for the United States to relinquish the triangle of land on the east boundary. The Army, as already indicated, had no objections, and the land was excluded from the reserve. This action must have been a great relief to the owners of the Presidio House, Rudolph Hermann, and the others who had occupied the area for many years. The west side of Lyon Street now marked the eastern boundary of the Presidio. Even then, a further adjustment would be required in future years.<sup>61</sup>

The concept of a Presidio Park refused to die. The newspapers maintained a steady stream of editorial comment urging a public park "forever." The *Alta* pointed out that Congress had already made Yellowstone a national park and the Yosemite was public property. The Presidio's 1600 acres surpassed what was necessary for defense. Fort Point and the other reservations in the harbor provided sufficient protection. In 1871 a new tactic emerged. Now the newspaper said that the people of San Francisco did not want the United States to part with its title to the Presidio. All they asked was the right to use it as a park, subject to the government's control and re-entry in case of war. U.S. Senator Cornelius Cole of California introduced Bill 310 in 1872 that called for the City of San Francisco leasing the reservation for park purposes.<sup>62</sup>

In February 1872 Senator Cole attempted to rush his bill through the Senate without debate, saying that the California legislature needed a decision immediately. Saving the day for the War Department, several senators refused to take action until they heard the opinion of the Secretary of War. Cole argued that the bill had cleared the Committee on Military Affairs and it was more important than the War Department. The Senate, nevertheless, moved on to other business.

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60. Board of Engineers, Pacific Coast, "Military Report," February 9, 1870, to Engineer Department, Bulky File, OCE, RG 77, NA.

61. Secretary of War, February 24, 1870, to Engineer Department; Alexander, March 14, 1870; Ord, December 2, 1870, all in Bulky file, OCE, RG 77, NA.

62. *Daily Alta California*, April 7 and July 1, 1870; February 2, 1871; January 26 and February 28, 1872; and February 20, 1874.

Meanwhile, the Army gathered data concerning the proposal. The Engineer Department reported that 300 acres were required at Fort Point for permanent fortifications, another 400 acres for land defenses, and 100 acres for barracks at the main post. The Quartermaster Department estimated that \$50,000 would be required to relocate the Presidio's barracks. Further, the value of the Presidio land had now reached the lofty figure of \$2 million. None of these figures squelched the desire for a park, but, despite repeated attempts by congressmen and others, the Presidio reservation remained intact.<sup>63</sup>

Turning its attention to the Presidio's south boundary, the Department of California wrote to General Keyes, now retired in California, asking him what he remembered of the original fence. Keyes replied that all he recalled was that the fence ran from a point near the northeast corner of the Lone Mountain Cemetery to the southern most point of Mountain Lake. Alas, he could not remember who put up the fence or when. The Department then turned to the post quartermaster, Lt. J. A. Lord, asking him to search his files. Lord learned that the first fence, post and wire, had been erected in 1852 (when Keyes had been absent) and that soldiers had repaired it in 1862. Contractor Clarke Avery was now constructing a new fence on the true boundary line as established by Wheeler's 1870 survey. This correction had brought into the Presidio land claimed by no fewer than twelve citizens. While they all protested, the most bothersome was John H. Johnson, the only one to have a structure on the property.<sup>64</sup>

The Department instructed the Presidio to continue construction of the new fence and to notify Johnson that he had to move. In April Lord reported that the portion of Johnson's \$50 house that had stood on the reservation had been "cut off," and the rest moved away. Thus ended the disputes concerning the southern boundary.<sup>65</sup>

In an effort to put the matter of the Presidio's future to rest, the new commander of the Military Division of the Pacific, Maj. Gen. John M. Schofield, prepared a lengthy letter to John Coburn, the chairman of

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63. Secretary of War, January 31, 1872, to Engineer Department, and February 7, 1872, to Quartermaster Department; Engineer Department, February 1 and March 8, 1872, to War Department, Bulky File, OCE, RG 77, NA. *Daily Alta California*, February 28, 1872.

64. Department of California, March 31, 1871, to Keyes; Keyes, April 17, 1871, to Department of California, Bulky File, OCE, RG 77, NA; Lord, April 19, 1871, Post Endorsements, PSF, RG 393, NA.

65. Department of California, April 18, 1871, to CO, PSF, and Lord, April 19 and 28, 1871, Endorsements Sent, March-December 1871, PSF, RG 393, NA.

the U.S. House of Representatives' Military Committee in March 1874. Schofield allowed that it would not be a detriment to the national interest to allow the City of San Francisco to construct roads for public park use on those parts of the reservation not then occupied or used by the government. Let the War Department decide what portions could be so used. He thought it would be a bad policy to sell any part of the Presidio, because in the event of war all of it would be required for military purposes. Meanwhile,

I see no good reason why a large portion of the reservation should not be used as a public park. The ground to the west and south of the barracks is very rough and irregular, entirely unfit for a military post. East of the barracks is the only portion smooth enough for a drill ground. The use of this ground for this purpose should be reserved, and in general terms the right of the War Department to use any portion of the ground at any time for military purposes should be reserved.

Although citizens did not receive *carte blanche* to use the Presidio as a public park, Schofield's letter marked the beginning of the Army's policy that the reservation should be an open post, the beginning of an enduring tradition.<sup>66</sup>

When the year 1878 dawned, the issue of ownership of the tidal lands remained on army engineers' minds. In January Senior Engineer Alexander, sitting in the San Francisco office, recorded that the Board of Tide Land Commissioners had already sold portions of the Presidio's tide lands. He urged the federal government to appoint a board of harbor commissioners to be composed of army and navy officers to consider what lands the government should control. If, indeed, the United States did not hold title to these lands, then they should be acquired either by legislation or by purchase. Such would take time.<sup>67</sup>

## **E. Centennial Year**

As the Fourth of July 1876 approached, excitement mounted in the Bay Area as the plans for a grand celebration became public. General Schofield offered the Presidio and Bay Area troops for the event before he transferred from San Francisco. General McDowell, the incoming Division commander would not arrive until after the holiday. Brigadier General McComb of the California National Guard would preside over the array of military events scheduled for July 3, while the City of San Francisco

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66. Schofield, March 6, 1874, to Coburn, Bulky File, OCE, RG 77, NA.

67. Alexander, January 24, 1878, to McDowell, Bulky File, OCE, RG 77, NA.

planned for a massive parade on the 4th. In the morning of the 3d activities were scheduled to take place at the Presidio where a review, guard mount, brigade exercises, and a "sham battle" would thrill spectators. The afternoon was scheduled for land and sea bombardments by the Army and the Navy in San Francisco Bay.

As usual, the morning dawned gray as a heavy fog aided by a stiff wind settled over the bay. Thousands upon thousands of people made their way along the thoroughfares to the Presidio and adjoining hills to watch the spectacles. The military exercises took place on the level plateau to the east of officers' row. By 9.a.m. the National Guard's Second Brigade had assembled on the plateau and Governor Irwin of California reviewed the troops. In the following event General McComb directed the brigade through a series of maneuvers, including forming a line of battle in various directions. Then came the main event. A line of skirmishers, followed by the main body, advanced across the plateau toward an enemy emerging from the Harbor View resort area. The bodies clashed in combat. Smoke from small arms and artillery pieces swirled over the infantrymen and the dashing cavalry. Back and forth, until the defender finally forced the enemy to retreat. Smelling victory McComb ordered his troops to withdraw. Too soon! The enemy thrust forward one last time. The defenders rallied, turned, repulsed the desperate drive, and emerged victorious.

Only one mishap occurred. An elderly gentleman named Carey and his wife, confused, drove their buggy directly into a cavalry charge and disappeared in a cloud of dust. While the buggy lay in a thousand pieces, the couple emerged with only bruises. Of all the participants, probably the Presidio's Trader Beretta profited the most. The post commander had ordered all other refreshment sellers off the reservation and Beretta scattered his booths among the crowd. By all accounts the morning's activities were a smashing success.<sup>68</sup>

The afternoon brought the big guns into action. Batteries at Fort Point, Point San Jose, and on Alcatraz poised for a bombardment against both land and water targets. In the harbor warships *Jamestown*, *Pensacola*, and *Portsmouth* (shades of San Francisco 1846) prepared to destroy an enemy vessel (a mocked up "fire vessel" at anchor). The Army's 15-inch Rodman guns opened with a half hour of heavy fire aimed at targets on Lime Point and Angel Island. This fire was erratic at best, but the thousands

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68. *Daily Alta California*, June 25 and July 5, 1876; *The Fort Point Salvo* (September 1976).

cheered anyway. The warships then fired on the hostile vessel, but to no avail. The captains later explained that the wind had become unpredictable and the outgoing tide had dragged the target beyond range. (Alcatraz's guns came to the Navy's aid, but added nothing to its laurels.) Later, someone from a revenue cutter boarded the target vessel and set it on fire. But it was a glorious celebration on that centennial day.

The Presidio garrison at that time consisted of four batteries of the 4th Artillery and Troop D, 1st Cavalry – fifteen officers and 218 enlisted men. They participated in the celebration but the reporters quite naturally dwelt on the California guardsmen. The only known damage on the reservation involved the Fort Point light keeper. The 15-inch guns at the Point inflicted unspecified injury to his property – probably broken windows.<sup>69</sup>

## **F. Indian Wars**

As far as the Presidio's troops were concerned, the 1870s brought a climax in the long, sad history of Indian conflict. At the end of 1872 Division of the Pacific troops from Fort Klamath, Oregon, and northern California's Modoc Indians under their leader, Keintpoos (better known as Captain Jack),<sup>70</sup> exchanged gunfire on the northern edge of the notorious lava beds just south of the Oregon border. Thus began the Modoc War in which a small band of Indians held off the United States Army for six long and terrible months. At San Francisco Brig. Gen. E.R.S. Canby, acting division commander in place of General Schofield who was on a detail in Hawaii, received orders in February 1873 directing him to personally negotiate with the Modocs following a stalemate in the fighting. Two of the Presidio's 4th Artillery batteries, A and M, had already been ordered into battle; Batteries B and K soon followed. On April 11 Modoc leaders in a conference with Canby and others unexpectedly attacked and killed the general. The nation was stunned.

In pursuit of the enemy, Capt. Evan Thomas, commanding the 4th Artillery's Battery A, led a large patrol into the Lava Beds. Accompanying him were Lt. George M. Harris leading the Presidio's Battery K, and

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69. Post Returns, PSF, July 1876; Brooks, November 13, 1876, Post Endorsements 1875-1878, PSF, RG 393, NA.

70. Captain Jack's Indian name has had several variations including Klintpoos, Lint-poos, Kientpoos, and Kintpuash.

Lt. Thomas F. Wright, former commander of the Presidio during the Civil War and now leader of Company E, 12th Infantry. Presidio officers Lt. Albion Howe, Battery A, and Lt. Arthur Cranston, Battery M, also accompanied the patrol that consisted of five officers, fifty-nine men, a surgeon, civilian guide, and civilian packer. On April 26 the patrol marched toward the lava beds. At noon it stopped for rest and food. The Modocs, hidden in the lava, suddenly struck. Before the assault ended, Thomas, Cranston, Wright, and Howe lay dead. Lieutenant Harris suffered mortal wounds. Twenty enlisted men had been killed and another sixteen wounded. Among the dead artillerymen, 1st Sgt. Robert Romer, Battery A, was one of two enlisted men later singled out for gallantry and bravery. The Modocs slipped away among the frozen waves of lava.

On May 8, 1873, the bodies of Captain Thomas and Lieutenant Howe arrived at San Francisco en route to the East Coast. Lieutenant Harris' mother escorted her son's remains home to Philadelphia. Lieutenant Cranston's body was laid to rest in the Presidio post cemetery. General Canby's body lay in state for two days in San Francisco while flags remained at half-staff on all public buildings for this man who had had a deep sympathy for American Indians. The *Oakland Daily Transcript* recorded that on May 5 the solemn ceremonies were the most brilliant ever witnessed in San Francisco. A ferry carried the casket to Oakland where it was placed aboard a special car that the Central Pacific Railroad had provided.<sup>71</sup>

War in the lava beds dragged on for another two months. Col. Jefferson C. Davis, the new commander of the Department of the Columbia, took charge of operations, reorganized and trained the dispirited soldiers, and renewed pursuit of the evasive enemy. The Presidio's Capt. Henry C. Hasbrouck, 4th Artillery, commanded the 2d Cavalry Squadron that consisted of his own men of Battery B, already mounted, and two troops of cavalry. He led the squadron in a successful skirmish with Modocs at a dry waterhole named Sorass Lake. Next, Hasbrouck, along with Capt. David Perry, 1st Cavalry Squadron, participated in the surrender of the western band of Modocs on May 22, 1873.

Colonel Davis then turned his attention to Captain Jack and his followers who had fled east from the lava beds. He organized his mounted troops into three squadrons. Captain Hasbrouck again commanded the 2d Squadron - Battery B, 4th Artillery; Troop G, 1st Cavalry, and twenty Warm Spring Indian scouts,

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71. Erwin Thompson, *Modoc War, Its Military History and Topography* (Sacramento: Argus Books, 1971), pp. 82-92, 95-98, 105-107, 109-113, and 122-126. Max L. Heyman, Jr., *Prudent Soldier, A Biography of Major General E.R.S. Canby, 1817-1873* (Glendale: Arthur H. Clark, 1959), p. 380.



along with thirty pack mules. For the next ten days the command pursued the fleeing Modocs and succeeded in capturing small groups. Captain Jack, himself, surrendered on June 1, 1873, bringing the fighting to a conclusion. Colonel Davis telegraphed to San Francisco, "I am happy to announce the termination of the Modoc difficulties."

Captain Hasbrouck became a member of the military commission that tried Modoc leaders in July 1873, finding six men guilty of murder and assault with intent to kill. Four were hanged, but two Modocs, Barncho and Sloluck, had their sentences commuted to life imprisonment in the military prison on Alcatraz Island. Hasbrouck and Battery B escorted the surviving Modoc Indians by train to Fort McPherson, Nebraska. There he delivered them to army officials for travel to exile in the Indian Territory. Barncho died on Alcatraz on May 28, 1875, and was buried on Angel Island. Later, his remains were re-interred in the San Francisco National Cemetery. Sloluck eventually joined his exiled people in Indian Territory.

Batteries A, K, and M, 4th Artillery, returned to the Presidio of San Francisco in July 1873, and Battery B arrived back a month later. The four batteries had suffered a total of twenty-seven casualties among their enlisted men: nine killed in action, three missing in action, fourteen wounded in action, and one who accidentally wounded himself in action. The artillery had acquitted itself well in a nasty war involving infantry and cavalry tactics.<sup>72</sup>

Three years later, following the Custer debacle in Montana Territory, the Presidio's Battery C, 4th Artillery, joined the expedition headed by Brig. Gen. George Crook in pursuit of the Sioux (Powder River expedition). The battery did not participate in the fighting that ensued but performed the essential task of guarding a supply train from Camp Robinson, Nebraska, to the Black Hills. Battery C returned to the Presidio in January 1877 after a four-month absence.

Conflict between Indian and settler led to full-scale hostilities in the Nez Perce country of northern Idaho in the summer of 1877. Brig. Gen. O.O. Howard, commanding the Department of the Columbia, assembled a force of infantry, cavalry, and artillery troops following the Army's disastrous defeat at White Bird Canyon in June. Troops D, 1st Cavalry, departed the Presidio and joined Howard's command

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72. Post Returns, PSF, October 1877; Jocelyn, *Mostly Alkali*, p. 265.

in July. Battery B, 4th Artillery, again commanded by Capt. Henry Hasbrouck, also headed for Idaho Territory and took temporary post at Fort Boise in support of the command.

The Nez Perces crossed the rugged Bitterroot mountains and traveled east encountering another army force in the valley of the Big Hole River. The Indians continued on, passing through Yellowstone National Park and into Montana, heading for the safety of Canada. Howard's column followed but the exhausted soldiers did not succeed in overtaking the Nez Perces. A fresh army column under Col. Nelson A. Miles caught up with the Nez Perces in Montana's Bears Paw Mountains at the end of September. A sharp firefight ensued, followed by a five-day siege. The majority of the Indians surrendered on October 5, 1877, to Miles and Howard, the latter having arrived the day before. About 300 Nez Perces escaped into Canada to join Sitting Bull, the Sioux leader who had fled there the previous winter.

The Nez Perce War had ended. Troop D began the long march to Winnemucca, Nevada, where it boarded a train for San Francisco. It arrived at the Presidio on October 25. The post return recorded that the troop had marched 1,250 miles, in addition to 930 miles traveled by rail. An unidentified newspaper reported, "These are the heroes of Howard's march. . . . Not peace soldiers in all the tinsel of dress parade, but men who show in face and clothing the hard service they have performed for their country."<sup>73</sup>

In June 1878 Captain Hasbrouck and Battery B, 4th Artillery, again mounted as cavalry, left the Presidio en route to southern Idaho where trouble had broken out between Bannock Indians and settlers. The Bannocks, joined by their Paiute allies and others, began a plundering raid along the Snake River in southern Idaho and westward into Oregon. General Howard arrived at Boise and assembled a command of infantry, cavalry, and artillery (including Battery B) and pursued the raiders. Battery B's role in the difficult campaign was confined to patrolling the hot, dry country of southern Idaho. In August Lt. Charles F. Humphrey led a detachment of twenty men on a scout of nineteen days from Camp McDermitt to Boise and return, a distance of 380 miles. Pvt. John Fisher, leading a three-man patrol, encountered a party of hostile Bannocks at a Snake River ferry crossing on July 31. The soldiers succeeded in defending a stage station and they rescued a stage and its driver who had been wounded. The Bannock War had pretty well ended by September. By then Battery B, still equipped as cavalry, had already returned to the

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73. Post Returns, PSF, October 1877; Jocelyn, *Mostly Alkali*, p. 265. Battery B, 4th Artillery, had returned to the Presidio in August.

Presidio, on August 24.<sup>74</sup>

The last time Presidio troops participated in the Indian wars occurred in 1885-1886 when Troops A and K, 2d Cavalry, traveled to Fort Bowie, Arizona, to support Brig. Gen. George Crook against the Apache Indians in his second Geronimo campaign. These troops carried out numerous patrols during the early months of 1886. When Brig. Gen. Nelson Miles succeeded Crook as commander in Arizona in April he found the 2d Cavalry troopers, "not only discouraged but thoroughly disheartened" due to the long time they had been in the field carrying out hazardous duties with no success against the Apaches. On May 31, 1866, the Presidio of San Francisco dropped Troops A and K from its rolls and they transferred to the Department of Arizona.<sup>75</sup>

These postwar years had seen few physical developments at the Presidio as funds remained scarce. Development in San Francisco, however, had advanced steadily toward the post forcing adjustments in the Presidio's boundaries. Citizens continued to enjoy the scenic and natural wonders of the open post, which became the centerpiece of northern California's celebration of the United States' 100 years of nationhood in 1876. Artillerymen composed the garrison during these years, guarding the Golden gate. They also participated in significant Indian campaigns in the West. They served as infantry and cavalry in battles and skirmishes extending from the Canadian to the Mexican borders. then, as the 1870s drew to a close, change came to the Presidio when the Army's western headquarters moved from the city to the post.

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74. Post Returns, PSF, 1878; Utley, *Frontier Regulars*, pp. 322-329. Charles Frederick Humphrey had won the Medal of Honor the year before in the Nez Perce War. His citation read, "Voluntarily and successfully conducted, in the face of a withering fire, a party which recovered possession of an abandoned howitzer and two Gatling guns lying between the lines a few yards from the Indians." In 1884 Captain Humphrey prepared a masterly report on the Presidio's buildings. His later service involved the Quartermaster Department where he served as the quartermaster general from 1903 to 1907. He retired in 1907 with the rank of major general.

75. Post Returns, PSF, 1878-1885; John Phillip Langellier, "Bastion by the Bay, A History of the Presidio of San Francisco, 1776-1906." (Ph.D. diss., Kansas State University, 1982), p. 167; Nelson A. Miles, *Personal Recollections and Observations of General Nelson A. Miles*, 2 vols. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1982), 2:477.